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The particular sensitiveness which the Soviet authorities have shown
208 with regard to the Far Eastern Russians since the Second World War can also be illustrated by another fact. Soviet jamming of Western broadcasts started in the Far Eastern territories of the Soviet Union several months before it came into operation in other parts of Russia.

II. THE PROBLEM OF COLONIZATION

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

●167 The great decisive problem which had confronted both Czarist and Russian authorities in the Far East was that of the colonization of the territory. Under the Czarist régime Russian colonization could be roughly subdivided into three periods. The first ran from the annexation of the Amur and Pacific coastal regions in 1858–60 to 1883, the second from 1883 to about 1900, and the third from 1900 until the First World War.

Until 1883, the only way of reaching the Far East from European Russia was to cross the whole of Siberia on horseback, and this meant two to four years' travel. The formidable journey, under very primitive conditions, resulted in complete physical exhaustion which, in a number of cases, compelled the prospective Amur colonists to abandon their original aim and settle down somewhere in Siberia. Those who eventually reached the end of their journey were appallingly weak from starvation, hardship, and the diseases which they had contracted during the journey. To make things worse there was no proper settlers' organization to help them when they arrived. It is not surprising, therefore, that in such circumstances the colonization of the Russian Far East made little progress, and the yearly average number of newcomers in these parts did not exceed 1,000.

The year 1883 saw the opening of the sea route for the use of prospective settlers. Despite the fact that the sea route reduced the journey to a few weeks only, it never became really popular with Russian and Ukrainian colonists, since travelling by sea was alien to their mentality. Nevertheless, several thousands of would-be settlers let themselves be persuaded to board ships in Odessa for Vladivostok, where they received a much better welcome than those who had arrived earlier by the land route; they were fed and housed, given medical attention and provided with farming equipment.

It was only after 1900, with the opening of direct rail communication between Russia and the Far East, that Russian colonization did enter a more active phase. In the initial stage the Trans-Siberian railway line cut the duration of the journey to approximately thirty days. While the first Russian colonists in the Far East had come chiefly from the overpopulated gubernii (provinces) of Kiev, Chernigov and Poltava, the

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inhabitants of over forty-five European Russian gubernii participated in the colonization after the hardships of a long and complicated journey had been alleviated.[14] Migration to the Far East assumed a real mass character, particularly after the Russo-Japanese War, when numbers reached the record height of 76,637 in 1907.

The boom of the migration to the Far East in the last years of the Czarist régime made little difference to the magnitude of the task which the Soviet power had to face. This can be gathered from the fact that in 1926 the total number of inhabitants in the F.E.T. was still below the two million mark, and this included both Asiatics and Europeans. The number of Europeans alone did not exceed 1,600,000, including 1,531,000 representatives of the three main Slavonic peoples of the U.S.S.R. – Great Russians, Ukrainians* and Byelorussians. Thus, the Europeans of the Russian Far East were an insignificant factor compared with the masses of China and Japan living at Russia's doorstep. We shall see now by what means the Soviet Government tried to change the situation and what success it achieved in its endeavours.

COLONIZATION BY CONVICTS

Colonization by convicts is neither a Soviet nor a Russian invention. It has been practised elsewhere, for instance, in Australia, but there it came to an end in 1838. In Russia, more particularly in the Russian Far East, colonization by convicts is not only flourishing at the present time, but it may not even have reached its maximum expansion. Certain remote Soviet Far Eastern territories have absorbed especially high numbers of forced labourers. Consequently, the colonization of the vast area which forms the hinterland of the Okhotsk Sea is almost exclusively due to convicts working under the supervision of the M.V.D. (previously N.K.V.D.).

* According to the 1926 census the Ukrainians in the Far Eastern Territory numbered 315,000 and the Byelorussians 41,000. There are particularly important Ukrainian settlements near the town of Blagoveshchensk, as well as at several points along the railway line running from Khabarovsk to Vladivostok, parallel to the Chinese-Soviet border. The Soviet régime provided Ukrainian language schools for the Ukrainian settlers and founded as many as seventeen Ukrainian 'National Districts' in various parts of the F.E.T.

Ukrainian nationalists refer to the entire Soviet Pacific coastal area as the 'Green Wedge' (Zeleny Klin) as distinct from the 'Grey Wedge', which is the Ukrainian settlers' area in Northern Kirghizistan and Southern Kazakhstan. These nationalists are inclined to consider the Soviet Pacific region a Ukrainian and not a Russian national possession. Indeed, the *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, published by Ukrainian scholars of Eastern Galicia during the inter-war period, described the 'Green Wedge' as a 'Ukrainian colony on the Pacific Ocean'. The *Encyclopedia* estimated that 30 per cent of the population of the 'Green Wedge' were Ukrainians, against 52 per cent 'Muscovites', i.e., Great Russians. (*Ukrainska Zagalna Entsiklopedia*. Lviv-Stanislaviv-Kolomiya, 1935, vol. ii, pp. 42–3.) The importance of the 'Ukrainian problem' in the Soviet Far East must not, however, be overestimated. The dividing line in the Far East does not run between the various groups of European colonists but between Europeans and Asiatics.

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316 655 (previously N.K.V.D.). Under the general direction of the latter a powerful state enterprise called 'Dalstroy' has come into being in the Soviet Far East. It has taken over many functions that are usually carried out by local government organs. Dalstroy is primarily a mining trust for the development of gold mining on the upper reaches of the Kolyma River. Similar to some mining companies in the colonies of other powers, such as the Société Minière du Haut Katanga in the Belgian Congo, the Dalstroy rules almost as sovereign master over the territory where it exploits the underground riches. Although administrative authorities do exist in the land of the Dalstroy they are completely dependent on the directorate of this enterprise.

635 625 The activities of the Dalstroy are many-sided. The 'Mining Administration' ('Gornoe Upravlenie') is only one of several big departments over which the Dalstroy director and his two deputy directors rule. In addition to the 'Political Administration', there is an 'Administration for Agriculture' supervising the work of the local collective farms and state farms, and an 'Administration for Road Building'. There are also a fair number of subsidiary trusts and enterprises which take their orders from the Dalstroy director. There are, for instance, the supply organizations 'Dalstroysnab' and 'Kolymsnab', the coal-mining trust 'Dalugol', a building trust, the state trading firm 'Magadantorg' and a special fleet which connects the Dalstroy with Vladivostok. This entire huge organization is kept together by a small army of M.V.D. men and by a whole network of 'political departments', the activity of which extends to the most distant parts of the Kolyma mining district. The bulk of the workers, technicians and officials of the Dalstroy consists of actual convicts, or of ex-convicts who have been set free because of [461] 'good behaviour'. A list of over 400 Dalstroy officials and workers who were awarded orders and medals at the beginning of 1941 shows that the Dalstroy is a microcosm of the Soviet Union. Indeed, a list of people decorated with the medal 'For Excellency of Labour' starts rather significantly with the following three names:

1. Abdulgasimov, Nazhim, miner;
2. Akopyan, Amayak Avanesovich, newspaper editor;
3. Aksenov, Vladimir Mikhailovich, driver. . . .[15]

Of these three the first is a Moslem, the second an Armenian and the third a Russian. The order is perhaps not very characteristic since the Russian element predominates by far among the more prominent Dalstroy people, but there are also Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Jews and Moslems among them.

167 361 The colonization activities of Dalstroy have changed the character of the hinterland of the Okhotsk Sea, which, until 1931, was still virtually uninhabited. The most palpable achievement has been the foundation of the town of Magadan, the post-war population of which has been

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167 361 estimated at 50,000–70,000 inhabitants. Official Soviet sources, while glossing over the strange origin of Magadan, have described it as an important cultural centre, including several houses of culture, dozens of clubs, cinemas, libraries, and two theatres, one for drama, the other for musical comedy. Former prisoners who passed through Magadan have asserted that the actors of the drama theatre were convicts, but Soviet sources of more recent date declare that they were recruited from Moscow drama schools. By December 1952, Magadan had grown large enough to deserve administrative promotion. A decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet transformed it from a district town into a provincial town.[16]

Magadan is the largest locality which owes its existence to Dalstroy, but there are others further inland. One of them is Atka – a name which, at the first glance, seems to have an exotic Asiatic flavour, but is in reality an expression of the unromantic technological mind of Soviet Russia. It is simply an abbreviation of 'Avtotraktornaya Kolonna' (Motor Tractor Column), a tribute to the pioneer role of motorized transport in a territory without a railway. Even in 1946 Atka had large garages and automobile repair works where work never stopped, 'not even for a single minute'. Moreover, Atka produces electrical equipment for the purposes of Dalstroy.[17]

MILITARY COLONIZATION

167 129 241 Another interesting and unusual form of colonization introduced in the Soviet Far East is what might be described as 'military colonization'. Discharged soldiers of the Red Army, artillery and cavalrymen, infantry and members of the signal corps, as well as sailors of the Red Fleet, settled down with their families in the fertile border regions on the Ussuri River. These military colonists formed a kind of peasant militia ready to be called up at any time for the defence of the 'socialist fatherland'. The first 'Red Army' and 'Red Fleet' collective farms were formed in 1931. They soon became the pride of the entire Soviet Far East and the head of the administration of the F.E.T., Krutov, described them as a shining example for the entire Far Eastern peasantry.

Not all demobilized soldiers became agriculturists; some of them remained in the Far East as lumbermen and fishermen and many also worked on the Far Eastern railways, as has already been mentioned. At the beginning of 1938, 5,000 demobilized Red Army men were accepted into the service of railways. They were all provided with houses and small plots, and each of them received a government grant for the purchase of a cow.[18]

167 241 This last point is particularly characteristic of Soviet colonization policy in the Far East. To increase its defence potential in the Far

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Eastern border areas the government made concessions even in the economic sphere. In European Russia only collective farmers were at that time allowed to own a cow as their own personal possession, never industrial or transport workers.

KOMSOMOL COLONIZATION

The military colonization largely overlaps with another special form of colonization in the Soviet Far East, which is carried out with the help of the Communist Youth League, the Komsomol. The Youth League is the backbone of the Far Eastern units of the Soviet Army. Towards the end of the inter-war period 60 to 70 per cent of the soldiers in the Far East were Komsomol members. Hence among the demobilized soldiers, too, there must have been a good deal of 'Komsomol spirit'. The Komsomol influence in the Far East is, however, by no means confined to the army. The entire Soviet Far East has been described as a 'Komsomol Territory'. This is true both in the figurative and in the literal sense. The Soviet Far East is 'komsomolsky' because it is a young pioneer country, but the Komsomol, the Communist Youth League, is also directly connected with the Soviet Far East as one of the principal promoters of its colonization.

Many Communist Youth League members went to the Far East as individuals out of a spirit of adventure and also out of a feeling of patriotic duty. The Komsomol, as an organization, was responsible for two big spectacular actions. One was the foundation of the town Komsomolsk-on-Amur, the other was the movement initiated by Madame Khetagurova.

The history of Komsomolsk goes back to the spring of 1932 when the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League chartered two steamers, *Kolumb* and *Komintern*, which sailed with 400 young people, including a number of Civil War orphans, to the village of Permskoe on the Lower Amur. (The village had been founded as early as 1858 by Russian peasant colonists hailing from the region of Perm in the eastern part of European Russia.) Even the first small party of Komsomol members outnumbered the local population of 160 inhabitants. In the second half of 1932 many more young people arrived, and in December of the same year the All-Russian Executive Committee published a decree which transformed Permskoe into the town of Komsomolsk. The decree read well in the Moscow newspapers, but to the young builders of Komsomolsk it must have appeared utterly unrealistic. At the time when the decree was published they were in a state of despair. The building of the town had had to be interrupted in view of the harshness of the Russian Far Eastern winter, and the inexperience of the new settlers had resulted in great complications. During

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this early period of construction Komsomolsk had a street with the characteristic nickname of 'Street of Accidents', and a whole quarter was known as the 'Fire Settlement' ('Pozharny Posyolok').

Things in Komsomolsk went wrong for several years, and in 1937, when the city celebrated its fifth anniversary, the party authorities thought that the time had come to carry out a large-scale purge among the builders of the 'City of Youth'. One of the most distinguished citizens of the new town, the director of its metallurgical plant, then declared bluntly, 'We are mercilessly rooting out this scum of wreckers'.[19] 'This scum of wreckers' were people whom official Soviet propaganda had previously included among the selfless enthusiastic patriots engaged in self-sacrificing, heroic construction work. To justify the purge the party leadership alleged that 'agents of foreign intelligence services, bandits and diversionists' had penetrated into the ranks of workers and technicians of Komsomolsk, thanks to the complacency of certain leading personalities. According to the official version the 'enemies of the people' at work in Komsomolsk were very active and ingenious. They mixed concrete with sugar so that the degree of its cohesion was lowered, they put glass into ball-bearings to provoke accidents and destroyed vital blue-prints to delay the growth of local industry.

The real reason for the chaos in Komsomolsk was not the criminal activity of wreckers, but the lack of co-ordination between the various state trusts which owned the industrial enterprises in the town-to-be. Each of these trusts constructed a workers' settlement around its plant, and until 1940 there was no over-all building plan for the much advertised town of the Communist Youth League. This explains why sanitary conditions and municipal services were still practically non-existent, even by the outbreak of the Second World War.

The over-all building plan of Komsomolsk which came into being in 1940 provided for a population of 500,000.[20] Although the fulfilment of this aim is still far off, Komsomolsk has become an economic and cultural factor in the Far East. In 1947 the town had 100,000 inhabitants and was the proud owner of two undertakings of all-Union importance, the Iron and Steel Works, 'Amurstal', and a shipyard.[21] Cultural life, too, had developed greatly. The number of schools reached thirty-four in 1947 and forty-five in 1952. In addition, Komsomolsk has a Palace of Culture, a theatre, thirty libraries, a training college for teachers of secondary schools, a music school and four 'parks of culture and rest'.[22] It has tried to keep up its reputation as a 'City of Youth' and is still recruiting young workers from European Russia, particularly from among war orphans.

The second big Komsomol initiative for the settlement of the Far East, the Khetagurova movement, has its roots in the lack of women in the Far East and the necessity to remedy the situation. The well-

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known Soviet writer Pavlenko has referred to this problem in one of his novels in the following words, 'From the polar tundra down to Korea everybody dreams of women. Nowhere else do people get married as quickly as there. Widows do not exist in the Far East. Only the oldest women overcome by senility remain single'. There is a lot of truth in what Pavlenko said. The proportion of women in the population of the Far East diminishes the further one goes east. The 1926 census showed that for every 1,000 men there were 962 women in the area just east of Lake Baikal, 918 in the Amur region, 704 in the Pacific coastal region and 689 on Sakhalin island. This is an abnormal situation, though characteristic of the pioneer stage of colonization activities all over the world.

To make the balance between the two sexes more even, a movement was created designed to bring young girls to the F.E.T. It was associated with the name of an ordinary Soviet citizen, a young woman of twenty-two years of age, Valentina Khetagurova-Zarubina. Khetagurova was the wife of a major serving with the 'Special Far Eastern Army'. Her claim to fame was a letter which she addressed to the girls of the Soviet Union. The letter was published on February 5th, 1937, and is an extremely interesting document.[23] Official inspiration had certainly a lot to do with it, but the letter nevertheless had a personal touch, and in some passages the Russian woman triumphed over the communist official. The needs of the Far East, Khetagurova said, were great. 'We need fitters and turners, teachers and draftswomen, typists and accountants – all to the same degree'. In the event of a war Khetagurova promised different kinds of jobs. Women would then be employed as nurses, radio operators and even as machine gunners. She appealed to the personal pride of would-be migrants to the Far East; 'We want only bold, determined people, not afraid of difficulties'. She described the Far East as an exotic dreamland 'where still a short time ago there were only deer, tigers and lions' and where 'wonderful work, wonderful people and a wonderful future' would meet the girls.

More important than all this was the assurance which Khetagurova gave, not expressly, but by implication, namely, that every girl would find a husband in the Far East and possibly even one holding commissioned rank in the army. She told the girls of Soviet Russia her own personal success story: 'In the autumn I made the acquaintance of Major Khetagurov. My life became fuller and brighter when I became married to him. . . .' The Russian girls could not be told more clearly why they should follow the example of Valentina Khetagurova.

The Khetagurova letter had considerable success. By the end of 1937 as many as 70,000 Soviet girls had registered with the authorities as volunteers for the Far East, and many actually went there. They were called 'Khetagurovki' – Khetagurova girls.

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THE 'NORMAL' COLONIZATION

So far only those forms of colonization in the Far East have been mentioned which might be described as typically 'Soviet', ranging from the terror exercised by the N.K.V.D. to the exuberant enthusiasm of the Komsomol.* In addition, the Soviet Government has continued the normal, ordinary colonization which went on in Czarist times. The Soviet Government has provided a number of genuine incentives to make it worth while for Russian peasants and workers to go to the Pacific coastal areas.

The first important special measure for the encouragement of voluntary migration to the Far East was a decree which the government issued on December 11th, 1933. It freed the collective farmers of the Far Eastern Territory for the duration of ten years from all compulsory grain and rice deliveries to the state. It reduced by 50 per cent the compulsory deliveries of meat, vegetables, milk and wool, and in certain distant areas such as Sakhalin and Kamchatka these deliveries were abolished altogether. To the workers and technicians of the Far East the decree of December 11th, 1933, brought higher wages and salaries. The personnel of the Far Eastern mining industry received an automatic rise of 30 per cent, and all other categories of workers and technicians one of 20 per cent. On the same occasion the pay of soldiers of the Special Far Eastern Army was increased by 50 per cent, and that of officers by 20 per cent.

It seems that these 'Stalin Privileges' as they were called were not quite sufficient to attract settlers to the Far East. Another decree was, therefore, published on November 17th, 1937, which aimed chiefly at the encouragement of agricultural colonization. On the strength of that decree, groups of collective farmers going to the Far East were to be exempt from taxation for six years and to obtain state credits for fifteen years. The decree further pledged the state to pay 50 per cent of the costs of all buildings erected by the colonists.

So much for the legislation passed for the encouragement of colonization in the Far East. In practice, things proceeded very often on lines that are reminiscent of Gogol's *Dead Souls*. Each Soviet state authority or building organization in need of manpower for the Far East had its own small recruiting office in Moscow. Special recruiting agents were employed who were paid a fixed sum for every person whom they persuaded to take up work at a Far Eastern building site or factory. The usual tariff was thirty roubles per person, but occasionally the fee was

* Another special form of Soviet colonization in the Far East was the mobilization of Jews for the settlement of Birobidzhan. The author has described the failure of this experiment in *Russia and her Colonies* (London, George Philip and Son, Ltd., pp. 173–8).

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higher. Since the agents were remunerated on a 'piece rate basis', they were naturally interested in enlisting the largest possible number of people. One can well imagine that the recruiters made use of all sorts of glittering promises and also that they paid little attention to the character and abilities of the prospective Far Eastern colonists. The afore-mentioned Madame Khetagurova who exposed in a Moscow journal this 'recruitment racket', concluded her account laconically: 'And so it happened that quite a lot of scum was sent to the Far East'.[24]

Those consenting to go to the Far East as free workers received upon leaving Moscow or another city of European Russia a special bonus and a maintenance allowance covering the entire long journey from European Russia to their final place of destination. The total amount of bonuses and allowances thus earned might not have meant a great deal to a Western worker, but it was a considerable sum for the impoverished Soviet citizen of the 'thirties.' It was tempting and led to abuses. Quite a number of people cashed the special remuneration, went to the Far East, worked there for a while and got themselves discharged for reasons of health. Having returned to Moscow they let themselves be recruited once more for the Far East by another state trust and the whole game started again from the beginning.

The majority of the voluntary colonists who, up to the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, came to the Soviet Far East established themselves in towns. The two largest cities of the Soviet Far East, Vladivostok and Khabarovsk, therefore grew considerably. Between 1926 and 1939 the population of Khabarovsk increased from 52,000 to 199,000, and that of Vladivostok from 108,000 to 206,000.

As a consequence of the growth of the existing towns and the foundation of new ones such as Komsomolsk, Magadan and Birobidzhan City, the relation between the urban and rural population in the Far East changed to the detriment of the villages. In 1926 only 24 per cent of the population of the Far East lived in towns, but by 1939 over half of all 'Far Easterners' could be classified as 'urban'.

The encouragement of the urban population in the Far Eastern provinces led to neglect of agriculture. During the period of the First and Second Five-Year Plans the area under cultivation in the Soviet Far East diminished by over 20 per cent, from 2,848,000 acres in 1928 to 2,223,000 acres in 1938. Consequently, instead of providing more for the newcomers, the food supply for the Soviet Far East became more dependent on deliveries from areas thousands of miles away. This created an unsatisfactory situation not only from the narrow economic point of view but also from the military which demanded complete self-sufficiency in fuel, raw materials and food. Molotov himself proclaimed the principal of self-sufficiency for the Soviet Far East at the Eighteenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party, in March 1939, and

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demanded, in particular, 'full liquidation' of all shortcomings in Far Eastern agriculture. The Third Five-Year Plan, therefore, aimed at an increase of the agricultural population of the Far East. About 100,000 new collective farmers were to settle down in the Khabarovsk Territory[25] alone.

The outbreak of the war prevented the full implementation of the resettlement plan, but it was, at least, successfully started. Russian peasants went to the Far East mainly from the Provinces of Kursk, Oryol, Voronezh, Ryazan, Stalingrad, Tambov and Penza. Kursk and Oryol seem to have led the migration movement. There was a great deal of propaganda for the resettlement plan and during a certain period almost every single issue of the Moscow newspapers carried a news-item showing how well those farmers had fared who had consented to go to the Far East, and how heartily they had been received there by the old-timers. The big All-Union Agricultural Exhibition which was opened in Moscow on the eve of the Second World War was likewise put into the service of the resettlement campaign. The Far Eastern pavilion of the exhibition illustrated, with the help of statistics and pictures, all the delights of peasant life east of Lake Baikal. In addition, the pavilion served as a convenient place for officially organized meetings at which collective farmers of the Chita Province, and the Khabarovsk and Maritime Territories talked to peasants of European Russia about the advantages of Far Eastern agriculture.[26] These propaganda efforts were not in vain. In fact, the resettlement plan for 1940 was already fulfilled by October of that year,[27] and numerous peasant settlers also went to the Far East in the first half of 1941, continuing to do so almost until the Hitlerite invasion of the Soviet Union.

Peasant colonization in the Far East was resumed after the war. Its precise extent is not known. Official Soviet sources have shrouded it in mystery and apparently consider it a military secret. In the absence of reliable statistics a rough, and not necessarily accurate, estimate about the increase in the population of the Soviet Far East can only be made by a comparison of the numbers of constituencies which were created for the elections of 1937, 1946 and 1950. There was hardly any change between 1937 and 1946. For the Supreme Soviet elections in 1937 the F.E.T. was subdivided into nine constituencies, each of them representing a theoretical population of 300,000. The total population of the Far East in the narrower sense (including Sakhalin) was, thus, 2,700,000. In 1946 the Khabarovsk and Maritime Territories comprised nine constituencies on the Asiatic mainland, whilst a tenth constituency was formed by Sakhalin and the Kurile archipelago. The total population of the Soviet Far East at the beginning of 1946 could, therefore, hardly have exceeded 2,700,000 on the Asiatic continent or 3,000,000, including the Soviet island possessions in the Pacific.

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161 A decree of January 9th, 1950, giving a new list of constituencies for the Supreme Soviet elections established four new constituencies in the
● 167 Far East. The constituency of Khabarovsk was divided into a town and a country constituency, another new constituency was formed around the Okhotsk Sea and two more constituencies were created on Sakhalin. The total population of the Soviet Far East would accordingly have been, in 1950, in the neighbourhood of 4,200,000. It is, however, unlikely that this figure was really reached. The population of each of the three Sakhalin constituencies, in particular, may be considerably below the 300,000 mark.

III. THE SOVIET FAR EASTERN MYSTIQUE

186 The Soviet régime worked for the strengthening of the Russian Far
208 East not only by mobilizing manpower for its colonization, but also by building up a Far Eastern 'mystique', a nationalistic ideology which flattered national pride to the utmost degree. After the end of the Second World War the Soviet Government, with the help of a large army of historians, writers and poets, promoted a cult of Russian heroes of the Pacific. The object of the new propaganda campaign was to show that Russians had played an outstanding part in the discovery of the Pacific and that, by their past records, they were entitled to much more influence in decisions concerning Pacific affairs than the 'imperialist powers' were ready to grant them. The campaign was also intended to prove that Czarist Russia had failed to grasp the opportunities offered to her in the North-West Pacific and that the Soviet Union defended energetically those national Russian interests in the Far East which the old régime had neglected.

RUSSIAN COLUMBUSES

186 To proceed in a strict chronological order the first 'Russian hero of the
208 Pacific' to be mentioned is Semen Dezhnev. Soviet propaganda
159 popularized him particularly in connection with the tercentenary in 1948 of the discovery of the Behring Strait, which separates Asia from America. The Danish explorer, Vitus Behring, after whom the strait is called, may only have rediscovered it one hundred years after Dezhnev had sailed around the 'nose of Asia', the north-eastern tip of Siberia. As late as the nineteenth century, some outstanding Russian scholars still doubted whether Dezhnev could really be credited with this daring feat. Soviet writers, however, are quite positive about Dezhnev's pioneer role. In 1945 the Chief Administration of the Northern Sea Route issued a popular book on Dezhnev, which waived aside all doubts as to Dezhnev's voyage, and described Dezhnev himself as 'a glorious representative of the all-enduring Russian people'.[38]

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647 665 there as a punishment. People who were an embarrassment to the authorities, for one reason or another, were frequently sent to the Arctic regions as administrators and Party secretaries. Most cases of abuse of which such ill-suited administrators had been guilty in distant territories were hushed up, but occasionally they became public, as in the case of the Soviet Commander of the Wrangel Island,* which is part of the Chukcha National Area, and situated off its Arctic coast.

The commander, whose name was Semenchuk, had committed the most outrageous arbitrary acts against both Chukchi and Eskimos, the native population of the island. He and his assistant, Startsev, had caused the death of a number of natives, but the Wrangel Island scandal would probably not have come to light had they not also assassinated the local Russian doctor. The two Soviet administrators were brought to Moscow as defendants in a big trial in which Vyshinsky himself acted as prosecutor. A sixty-five page Vyshinsky speech contains an exhaustive description of the Semenchuk régime on Wrangel Island. Semenchuk's authoritarian idea of the role of a Soviet administrator in the land of the Chukchi and Eskimos was summarised in the following pronouncement which he had made. 'I am the GPU here; I am the court, I am the Public Prosecutor. I have the power of life and death.'

Semenchuk and Startsev were sentenced to death and executed in 1936, but it is still a mystery how the Soviet Government could entrust the strategically important Wrangel Island to an outright criminal. Semenchuk had been in prison for the theft of silver cutlery from the Soviet Embassy in Teheran shortly before being dispatched to the Far North.[3]

The case of Semenchuk and Startsev is obviously an extreme one. There is no reason to doubt that some of the administrators are ardent idealists, determined to improve living conditions and promote education among the local peoples. If we can believe the Secretary of the Department of Cadres of the Khabarovsk Territorial Committee of the Communist Party, there has been a better selection of administrators for the distant areas of the Far East since 1939. The secretary in question had promised in that year that Party posts in these territories would be given in future only to particularly trustworthy persons. He had said,

648 167 * Russian sovereignty over Wrangel Island was established only with some difficulty Both Canada and the United States had striven to attach the island which has an area of 2,700 square miles to their respective territories. The Canadians established their claim by wintering on the island from 1921. They reasserted it by hoisting the flag there in 1921, and in 1922 the Canadian Prime Minister solemnly proclaimed the annexation of the island in a statement before the Ottawa Parliament. The Soviet régime can rightly claim to have rescued Wrangel Island for Russia. In 1924 the crew of the Soviet gunboat 'Red October' took it over and expelled the only Canadian who lived there, together with a group of 'anti-Soviet' Eskimos, who, they asserted, were engaged in illegal hunting of fur animals. The Soviet authorities then brought their own colonists from the mainland, mostly Chukchi and Eskimos, with a few Russians.

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia RR1

connection with the forced labour system. A sparsely populated territory on the Kolyma River and around the Okhotsk Sea, which, not so long before, had been the home only of Eveni, Yakuts and other natives, had suddenly become an object of mass colonization by convicts, probably by as many as 400,000. The sudden emergence of huge forced labour camps in tribal territories was bound to have a considerable effect both on the way of life and on the moral outlook of the natives. It is only logical that the N.K.V.D.-M.V.D. should have tried to enlist the support of the natives against camp inmates trying to escape. Former political prisoners have even asserted that the N.K.V.D. pays the natives, either in cash or in the form of vodka, for every escaped person whom they capture.[8] This makes it understandable that the prisoners extend their contempt of the N.K.V.D. to the natives. They charge the authorities with 'coddling and pampering' them in the very areas in which many members of Russia's intelligentsia are gradually being exterminated.[9] It must be said in fairness that the N.K.V.D. is not the first Russian authority to discover that use can be made of Far Eastern natives against convicts from European Russia. The priority for this idea goes to the Czarist governor of Sakhalin Island, General Konotovich. Chekhov, mentioned in his book on Sakhalin that the General had ordered Gilyaks (Nivkhi) to be employed as guards for Russian criminals.

THE REINDEER PROBLEM

Lack of understanding of the 'natives' is manifested not only by the activities of the big State trusts, but also in the day-to-day work of Soviet officials in charge of 'native affairs'. Communist Party officials think in terms of ready-made patterns, and cut-and-dried formulae. They are usually convinced that what is good for Moscow and Vladivostok must be equally good for the most remote parts of the Union. This frame of mind makes it difficult for them to find the right approach to the special conditions of the Far North. Much could be said, for instance, about the peculiar way in which Soviet authorities have handled the basis of Far Northern economy, reindeer-breeding. As late as 1950, the Communist Party of a Siberian province sent large piles of pamphlets on sheep-farming and bee-keeping to the nomads living near the Arctic coast, where there are neither sheep nor bees – only reindeer.[10] This actually happened in North-western Siberia, but it could easily have happened in the Far East. The *Pravda* correspondent in Khabarovsk stated in 1947 that there was not a single specialist in problems of reindeer-breeding in the State and Party offices of that city, although the Khabarovsk Territory includes the largest reindeer population of any administrative unit in the Soviet Union.[11]

buckwheat, millet, peas, and hemp were cultivated. Likewise animal breeding was known to them, they kept horses, pigs, cattle, and chicken. In the woods he found wild walnut trees. All these tribes paid tribute to the emperor of China, who was called Bogdo-Khan. The natives reported that his warriors fought with fire and bows and arrows. 175 484

Three years after the return of Poyarkov, Khabarov set out again from Yakutsk with 70 men on a new exploratory trip toward Amur. He selected a route running farther to the west than Poyarkov had, and he followed the Olekma and the Tungir in order to reach the Amur via the Urka. There he found a large, hostile population ahead of him and, since he felt himself to be too /24/ weak, he turned back to Yakutsk in 1650. However, the next year he set out again with stronger forces, and by the same route reached the Amur on which he founded the city Albasin /today: Khabarovsk?/ at the mouth of a small river. Agriculture was started, and the place itself was provided with buildings for defense. Numerous Russian peasants followed and settled here. However, the still unknown distances and the waiting booty enticed the restless Cossacks. In a constant fight with the Tungus tribe, the Daur, whose cities he pillaged and destroyed, Khabarov undertook numerous trips on the Amur and also followed the Sungari and the Ussuri. He had to spend the winter of 1651-52 at the mouth of Ussuri on the Amur and there he had to defend himself from vigorous attacks by the Manchu and other peoples. The city of Khabarovsk, later founded at the same spot, bears his name.

The first Russians who advanced into the country were free, very bellicose Cossacks; but with them came Russian settlers and traders at the same time. At favorable trade points they established settlements and, in addition to hunting, agriculture, and fishing, they pursued an active, highly profitable fur trade. Over and above this they demanded the usual "yassak" from the natives. These tributes were collected ruthlessly. Robbing and plundering of the sedentary native population were part of the daily agenda, and accordingly many natives, particularly those pursuing agriculture, left the insecure land and resettled on the right side, the Manchurian side of the Amur. 175 167

By the middle of the seventeenth century there were already a whole series of Russian settlements along the Amur; the capital of these was the above-mentioned Albasin /today: Khabarovsk?/.

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167 All these bases were officially under the Moscow government. Khabarov, who was called to Moscow to give a report, received the title of Boyar. His successor, Stepanov, continued systematically the exploration and taking possession of the land so that by 1681 Russia, for all practical purposes, ruled not only the Amur but also the area around the lower course of the Sungari and Ussuri. The first voivode in Albasin /today: Khabarovsk?/ was Tolbusin. But the behavior of the Russians toward the natives was anything but wooing. Violence and extortions practiced on the natives aroused animosity and led to uprisings, and in the end to battles with the Chinese. As a consequence in the eighties of the seventeenth century all settlements in the entire region were destroyed and most of the Russians were killed. Even Albasin /today: Khabarovsk?/, which had developed into the center of Russian power in the Amur area by continually drawing people in, was captured and destroyed by Manchurian troops in 1684. However, after their withdrawal the Cossacks rebuilt the city and began anew to till their fields. The rapacious border warfare recommenced. Thereupon /25/ a Chinese army with 8,000 men and 40 guns appeared before Albasin /today: Khabarovsk?/ in 1687, while there were only 736 Russians within the city. The Russians, however, succeeded in withstanding all attacks even though at the end only 66 men remained. The others had been killed or had fallen victim to scurvy.

[64R] In order to bring an end to these bloody and inexorable border fights, which had taken on the character of a mutual war of extermination, Russia and China resolved on a treaty which was laid down in Nerchinsk on September 7, 1689. The area west of the Argun was promised to Russia, and Russia pledged to withdraw all Russian settlers from the eastern side of the Argun to the western side. The river area of the real Amur was to remain in China's hands. A left Amur tributary, the Gorbitsa, was laid down as the western border, while the watershed between the Lena and the Amur was determined as the northern border: this watershed in the main runs along the ridge of Stanovoy. All Russian settlers in the Amur country had to leave; Albasin was razed and given up.

After the Nerchinsk Treaty the colonization of Transbaykal began. For the protection of the border the Transbaykal Cossack army was drawn up and settled in numerous stations on the Argun, where the Cossacks led an unconstrained border life--half peasant, half soldier. They soon got along well with the Buryat, who had set up

their defenses at the time of the first invasion of the Russians. Many Buryat were even taken into the Cossack organization as equals. The Amur country, which remained in China's hands, was not, however, forgotten. With its wealth of furs it soon again enticed many Russians, who advanced along the Amur anew, set up settlements, and with their own hands began to establish themselves economically in the foreign land. The very audacious even ventured as far as the Ussuri country.

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Although the northern border of the Amur country, almost unknown to the Russians and the Chinese equally, had not been laid down exactly and had no border markings, it remained thus for over 160 years. In this period, especially after 1800, numerous Russian scientific expeditions traversed the land. In addition to many well known Russian researchers, such as Maksimovich, Veniukov, Nevelskii, Usoltsev, there also appear many German names of Baltic origin, such as Middendorff, Schrenck, Radde, Schmidt, and Glehn. Outstanding descriptions of the land come especially from Middendorff. At the same time the sea-faring powers began to concern themselves with exploring the northeast coast of Asia. In 1778 Cook traveled the Bering Sea, in 1787 La Pérouse explored the Japanese islands and Sakhalin, and in 1795-98 Broughton worked in the same area. It is interesting that /26/ the poet Adalbert von Chamisso (1815-18) participated in the exploration of Kamchatka and the Aleutian Islands.

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In the geographic research in the Amur country, the question of the mouth of the Amur was of predominant interest, for in this Russia hoped to find access to the Pacific and a favorable harbor. Already in 1777 the far-seeing Czarina Catherine II had, on the basis of the report of the unsuitability of the Sea of Okhotsk, given an order that the Amur mouth be explored. La Pérouse, Broughton, and Krusenstern (1803-1806) had reported that the Amur ended in an estuary, which only in the north had a link with the sea, and this was shallow and not navigable for ocean-going vessels; to the south Sakhalin was connected with the land, i.e., it was a peninsula. In 1846 Gavrilov, who had been commissioned to do exploratory work in this sea area, still confirmed these claims. Nevelskii, a Russian naval officer, turned against this conclusion after practical reflection. He could and would not believe that the powerful masses of water from the immense river, the Amur, should run into an estuary which was almost closed off. It was a dramatic battle which he had to

The Russians

563 167 361 The original Cossack settlements formed the basis of the Russian colonization. According to the treaties of Aigun and Peking, the Amur and Ussuri Cossack formations were put next to the Transbaykal Cossack army assigned to the Argun. In the period from 1858 to 1862, 23 such Cossack settlements with 5,000 people came into being on the Ussuri and 75 on the Amur. These Cossack outposts consisted of loosely laid-out villages and also of individual settlements, which were organized in a military fashion for the protection of the border, but which in addition had to maintain themselves economically. For this there was distributed to them large landed property which extended along the Argun, the Amur, the Ussuri and the Suifun along the Chinese border. Successive settlers attached themselves to these strips of settlements, made them more densely populated or extended them. Thus there came into existence, on the one hand, the remarkably long strips of settlements along the border rivers, settlements which extended into the hinterland only where favorable conditions allowed new land to be developed without much work; and, on the other hand, there came into existence among the settlers themselves a certain organization which can be observed in typical characteristics even in recent times. Near the borders on the better land near the rivers sit the old settlers with large pieces of property; mostly these old settlers are descendants of the Cossacks who, after years of fighting, deprivations, and also successes, became enterprising culture pioneers who did not shy from risks, and who represent a powerful, hard, self-conscious race of people. On the other hand, to the side in the interior, mostly on land of slight value, live the the new settlers who came later; they have preserved all the typical characteristics of the East European Russian with his strengths and weaknesses.

563 167 162 Despite various laws favoring emigration of Russian citizens--the first law in this connection was enacted in 1861--/113/ and despite many facilities and much fostering, colonization proceeded only very slowly in the first decades. All recruiting measures had only slight success. The difficult, long land route through Siberia and also the long sea trip frightened many off. Only with the building of the Transsiberian Railway did a stronger stream of immigration begin, and the population east of Lake Baykal was already 1,622,000 by 1911; of these 1,225,000 were Russians and around 20,000 were other Europeans. Of the remaining population of 379,000, the greater part were Buryat, who numbered 205,000, and the remainder was divided between

563 Chinese, Koreans, and numerous small indigenous peoples. The dis-
•167 orders of the revolution after World War I brought many Russians to
162 the Far East. Planned measures for colonization instituted by the Soviet government contributed to this, and by 1926 the population east of Lake Baykal reached around 2.3 million and had risen to 4,040,000 persons by the time of the last census on January 17, 1939. The increase consisted principally of Russians. By 1939 in the Buryat Mongolian ASSR the Russians had an absolute majority with 52.7 percent (in 1941, 57.2 percent) of the entire population of 542,000. In the Chita region, with a total population of 1,159,500, the number of Buryat and other natives can be estimated at most at 50,000, and in the Khabarovsk and coastal region, with a total of 2,338,100 inhabitants, the percentage of indigenous peoples is only 3 percent.

The main part of the Russians are occupied with agriculture and cattle breeding. In addition, fishing and hunting serve as an additional occupation. The professional Russian hunter, the "Promyshlennik," a real runner type, still hasn't died out. The number working in industry has increased sharply in recent years.

563 Even here the Russian peasant continues the life he used to
361 lead at home, and he troubles himself here no less than he did there. Ac-
342 cordingly one can often recognize in the type of settlement where the settler came from, even if it was decades and more ago. The Great Russians, especially those from the northern regions, prefer residences on rivers and in wooded areas. Their houses are built in the same block house style of the "izba" they used to live in. Hunting and fishing are very popular with them. The White Russians also prefer wooded areas. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, are mostly better farmers; they are to be encountered in especially large numbers in the Khanka Lake area, which is relatively free of woods, and around Bochkarevo /now: Kuybyshevka/, and they are descended in large measure from Cossacks who had been sent from the Don area. Their houses show the same whitewashed mud walls and are covered with straw like their "khata" in the Ukraine, although there is really no shortage of wood. Although there are often rivers flowing nearby, they dig a well near the house as a rule because well water, as they say, is cooler and more tasty. Woods in /114/ the vicinity of Ukrainian settlements soon are destroyed; the Ukrainian uses not only the axe but also fire against the woods. The Ukrainians are especially successful with cattle raising.

The cities, too, show the usual Russian face. In the center of the larger cities there are, in addition to narrow tenement houses, some

161 The data of the censuses from 1926 to 1939 are available for
167 observing the general development of the population. According to these the number of inhabitants in the area east of Lake Baykal has increased from 2.3 million to 4,039,800 inhabitants, i.e. 75 percent. By comparing this with the average increase in population in the Soviet Union, which amounted to 15.9 percent during this period and which can be considered equivalent to the natural increase in the population, it can be deduced that in the eastern region the growth through immigration reached the considerable height of 59.1 percent. The individual areas, however, participate very differently in this increase. The increase in the Buryat Mongolian ASSR reached only 39 percent, but that in the Chita area was 73 percent, and in the Khabarovsk area it was even 136 percent. Since resettlement in the Soviet Union is directed by the state, a tendency is shown here to give preferred treatment to the area farthest from European Russia. The coastal district, however, appears to be an exception, for its population increased only 42 percent during this period.

Development of the Population

	1926	1939	Increase in percent	Increase through immigration in percent
Buryat Mongol ASSR	390,000	542,200	39	23.1
Chita Region	670,000	1,159,500	73	57.1
Khabarovsk Region	606,000	1,430,900	136	120.1
Coastal District	638,000	907,200	42	26.1
Total	2,304,000	4,039,800	57.5	59.1

162 /119/ During the same period between 1926 and 1939 a basic change in the structure of the population took place because of the extraordinary increase in the urban part. While the urban part of the population in the Far Eastern region amounted to only 24 percent in 1926, by 1939 it had increased almost to 50 percent. Since Soviet statistics make the concept of urban population equivalent to that of non-agrarian population, a general division by vocation can be deduced from these figures. The Buryat Mongol ASSR has remained predominantly agrarian. The urban share is only 30 percent and even lies below the average for the Soviet Union, which is 32.8 percent. In the three other areas this mean is exceeded and amounts to 44 percent in the Chita region, 45 percent in the Khabarovsk region and even

The Development of the Population 1939-1950

161 The development of the population after 1939 cannot be followed exactly, since no census has been taken since then and also no other official data have been published on this subject. Incidental data on individual places or regions allow a general tendency to be noted, but they are not sufficient to give a clear picture in terms of figures. The best opportunity for this is provided by the election statistics for 1950. Critical evaluation of these statistics enables us to note the total figures for the population, although to be sure the figures calculated are only approximations and contain concealed sources of error which cannot be avoided. Nevertheless the election statistics must be drawn upon, because, with the lack of other information, they offer the sole opportunity to acquire at least a survey of the development of the population.

The total population of the Soviet Far East amounted to 4,039,800 in 1939, according to the census of that year, and to around 6.3 million (including southern Sakhalin and the Kurils) in 1950. The total population, then, had increased by around 2.3 million persons in this time. While the population increased by 75 percent in the 13 years from 1926 to 1939, the increase in the 11 years from 1939 to 1950 was only 35.6 percent. If the mean natural increase in population in the Soviet Union during the period 1926-1939 (15.9 percent for 13 years, 1.22 percent for one year, 13.42 percent for 11 years) is applied to the Far Eastern region without consideration of the effects of the last world war, the resulting figures show that the 35.6 percent general increase in the population consisted of 13,42 percent from natural growth and 22.18 percent from immigration. Under these conditions the general picture of the population development in the Soviet Far East can be concluded to be as follows:

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1939 population	4,039,800
Natural increase 1939-1950	538,140
Increase through immigration	1,722,060
1950 Total	6,300,000

/121/ Even if immigration from 1939 to 1950 did not attain the measure of that of 1926 to 1939, it is nevertheless significant with its general yearly average of 156,500. Since during the six years of the war (1940-1945) all immigration was probably stopped, most of the settlers must have been brought into the Far Eastern region in the remaining five years and especially after the war; this would make the annual average almost 350,000.

The development of the population in the individual regions can also be given only in general figures. Here the difficulty is encountered that the administrative borders were changed in the years after World War II, and accordingly the data can no longer be compared in all cases. Only the Buryat Mongol ASSR and the Coastal District have remained unchanged administratively, while other regions can only be treated together. 161

Population Development According to Regions

	1939	1950	absolute increase	increase in percentage
Buryat Mongol ASSR	542,200	600,000	57,800	10.7 %
Chita Region Khabarovsk District	2,590,400	4,500,000	1,909,600	73.3 %
Coastal District	907,200	1,200,000	292,800	32.3 %
Total	4,039,800	6,300,000	2,260,200	35.6 %

The above chart shows that the main increase in population occurred in the Chita Region and the Khabarovsk District, while the percentage of increase in the other two regions is lower than the general percentage of increase.

There must even have been some emigration from the Buryat Mongol ASSR. If we apply here the above mentioned percentage of natural increase in population (13.42 percent), then this alone should have resulted in an increase of 72,863. This means that around 15,000 persons must have emigrated from the Buryat Mongolian ASSR in the period from 1939 to 1950. The predominantly agrarian character of this republic--in 1939 the rural population amounted to 70 percent of the total--makes it appear completely possible that this occurred because of the progressive mechanization and technicalization of agriculture. [167].

The absolute increase in the population of the Coastal District from 1939 to 1959 was 292,800, of which 121,750 came from natural increase and 171,050 from immigration. From individual reports on significant increases in industrial production and also from the growth of individual cities (Vladivostok increased by around 100,000, Voroshilov by around 70,000, and Artem has passed the 50,000 mark), it can be assumed with certainty that not only the greater part of the immigration but also /122/ the greatest part of the natural population growth has generally been fed to the industrial sector of the economy.

without any additional reasons. It must also be assumed as obvious that Buryat-Mongol relationships in the Soviet Union served as a model in the formation of the Mongolian People's Republic and its organization into a state, and also that thereby the influence of the Soviet Union has grown far beyond its political borders.

Land Transportation

Transportation acquires a striking importance with the size of the area. The development has shown that the transportation installations were not created because there was a necessity based on the economy of the region itself, but rather that the transportation-political standpoint of the entire state was decisive for the various transportation installations. The Amur railroad and also the Ussuri railroad were for their part built through regions which were often completely uninhabited or settled only extremely slightly. Only with the construction and after the completion of these railroad lines did people stream in in larger numbers, and accordingly the railroads became pacemakers for the colonization and development of the economy. Even today it is still so. Connection with the transportation system is the necessary condition for winning new settlement areas and for exploiting the rich natural resources of this vast land.

With the slight density of population, transportation installations, such as for example the railroads, which required a great expenditure of capital and labor, often /183/ prove themselves to be unsupportable economically, unless these installations correspond to another, higher point of view, or are built for the future in a far-sighted fashion. In both cases it is up to the power and the enterprising spirit of a great state organism to carry out mighty tasks of this type. That was the case with the old Russia and it is also the case with the Soviet Union. At any rate the slightness of the railroad network goes back to these reasons. In contrast to these, however, the transportation installations, whose introduction required only slight outlays of money, are much better developed. To this category belongs water transportation, whose present state, according to the judgment of Soviet specialists, exceeds even that of the European part of the USSR. Also in this category is air transportation.

The railroads are the main bearers of the traffic. The eastern part of the Trans-Siberian Railroad constitutes the main vein. It runs from Lake Baykal via Ulan-Ude and Chita across Transbaykal, and then,

in the construction, attained brilliant results not only because many millions of rubles remained in the country but also primarily because it fostered colonization. Many thousands of workers, who were recruited from Russia, learned to know the Amur country and settled in the land after the completion of the construction.

/186/ The Trans-Siberian Railroad leads through the most important localities in the Far Eastern region. The distances between the most important localities are as follows in railroad kilometers: Irkutsk--Ulan-Ude, 490 kilometers; Ulan-Ude--Chita, 554 kilometers; Chita--Khabarovsk, 1,428 kilometers; Khabarovsk--Vladivostok, 768 kilometers; Karymskoye--Otpor (border station), 366 kilometers; Karymskoye--Harbin--Vladivostok, 1,981 kilometers.

A number of branch railways lead from the main line to localities which are important economically or in terms of transportation. On the Transbaykal Railroad and the Amur Railroad the following, from west to east, are to be cited.

Ulan-Ude	--Naushki (Mongolian border)	225 kilometers
Petrovsk	--Balyaginsk (iron ore)	19 kilometers
Tolbaga	--Khalyarta (coal)	8 kilometers
Ingoda	--Ildigun (wood, agriculture)	52 kilometers
Priiskovyy	--Nerchinsk (city connection)	10 kilometers
Kuenga	--Sretensk (Shilka harbor)	55 kilometers
Pashennaya	--Bukachacha (coal)	73 kilometers
Skovorodino	--Dzhalinda (Amur harbor)	60 kilometers
Ushumun	--Chernyaye (Amur harbor)	38 kilometers
Kuybyshevka	--Blagoveshchensk (Amur harbor)	109 kilometers
Bureya	--Raychikhinsk (coal)	43 kilometers
Arkhara	--Innokent'yeva (Amur harbor)	35 kilometers
Izvestkovyy	--Ust'-Tyrma (coal)	190 kilometers

Of these lines the railroad from Ulan-Ude to Naushki is of the greatest significance. It was completed in 1939 and leads to the Mongolian border. Since then it has been lengthened to reach Ulan Bator (Urga), the capital of the Mongolian People's Republic. Then, in addition, various side lines have been created in the last few years. Thus a railroad line leads from Skovorodino over 150 kilometers to Tyndynskiy in the area around the upper course of the Gilyuy, and there is supposed to be a connection to the new Baykal-Amur Railroad (BAM). Also the Izvestkovyy--Ust'-Tyrma line named last in the above list

oblast is Palana, which lies on the river of the same name on the west coast. Almost half the Koryak are sedentary and live in wooden houses, built after the Russian model, in villages on the coast or on rivers, where they live from fishing and hunting. All breed the dog as a domestic animal. Already gardens, in which they grow potatoes and vegetables, are also very often to be found near their houses. The bulk of the Koryak, however, remain in /300/ reindeer breeding and are developing the same good qualities which the Chukchee possess in this respect. Apart from the Samoyed in the northern part of the European tundra, the Koryak and the Chukchee are the best reindeer breeders in the Soviet Union, and they also have more than a third of the total stock of reindeer in the USSR. The Kamchadal occupy the southern part of the west coast, the Kamchatka valley; and many of them are also to be found as workers in the fishing localities on the east coast. They are under the influence of the Russians in all things and have become completely sedentary. Fishing and hunting, however, have remained their principal occupations. But they have in many cases already given up the breeding of dogs and keep horses, which are more and more displacing the dog as the riding and draft animal in the southern part of Kamchatka. The cultivation of vegetables and potatoes has already become a rule with them. In the central, more remote part of Kamchatka, there still lives a smaller number of Tungus Lamut, who are only reindeer breeders. Hemmed in by the more progressive Koryak and Kamchadal, they constitute the poorest population on the peninsula. Their herds are only small ones, and during harsh winters they are to be encountered begging among the rich Reindeer Koryak.

The heavy immigration of Russians can be traced back to state guidance. In the years 1930 to 1933 alone 15,000 settlers came into the land. The capital Petropavlovsk had around 28,000 inhabitants in 1939, which was more than all Kamchatka had before 1914, and today Petropavlovsk's population is around 40,000. A great part of the increase in population can be traced back to the building up and the modernization of fishing and the catching of sea animals. Here there was formerly a shortage of workers, and this shortage forced them to bring thousands of seasonal workers every year to Kamchatka for the catching period. Among these seasonal workers there were many Koreans and Chinese. This shortage has been eliminated by immigration. Furthermore new industrial undertakings, especially complementary branches of the fish processing industry, have come

•167 into being. However, a significant part of the immigration has been also for the benefit of agriculture, which, according to all reports, has made extraordinary progress. Thus, Kamchatka, which earlier [241] had to have the bulk of its food supplied from outside, already gets along in large part with its own production, and the goal of autarchy in terms of food will probably soon be reached.

In the southern part of the peninsula, which has a mild climate, 231 the breeding of cattle has attained a great and continually growing significance. The climatic conditions here are approximately the same as those of Sweden. The number of cattle had already reached several thousand head by 1939. A series of livestock sovkhoz have taken over the job of supplying milk and meat to the localities en- 241 gaged in the fishing industry. In the Kamchatka valley and in the environs of Petropavlovsk agriculture, too, has made a start. The area under cultivation increases from year to year. In sovkhoz and kolkhoz grain, potatoes, and vegetables are cultivated with success. Fruit /301/ trees were introduced, and today are already yielding 654 their own apples. A series of agricultural experimental stations in the interior and also in the coastal regions are to prepare the further development of agriculture and the breeding of livestock.

228 Of greatest importance for the economy of Kamchatka is fishing and the catching of sea animals. In this respect Kamchatka is the most important area in the Far East, and it is especially prominent because of the appearance of highly valuable types of salmon. The west coast has the principal role in the catching of salmon and crabs. On the east coast the area around the mouth of the Kamchatka is a pronounced salmon region, while Petropavlovsk constitutes the center of the catching of sea animals. From passive, rapacious catching of fish in immovable, built-in traps--the so-called "fish dams," which blocked the river--a transition has been made to catching the fish in sweep nets and drag nets. Thus the fish are now not caught at [251] the mouths of the rivers alone but also in the sea. The earlier, primitive covering of the mounds of caught fish with salt, a practice which was customary on the entire coast of the Far East and under which great quantities of fish spoiled, has given way to smoking [255] of the fish and salting of the fish in vats and above all to processing in canning factories. Modern fishing steamers with processing equipment on board have contributed to making Kamchatka today the second fish-catching region in the Soviet Union, second only to the Caspian Sea. In the catching of crabs Kamchatka even is in first place in the